TEL NEW NEW NESS,

EDITOLIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS.

CONFILED EYERY DAY FOR EVERING TRLEGRAPH.

The Best Hasis of Restoration-Negro Suffrage or the Amendment, From the Times.

The proposition to substitute impartial suffrage and universal amnesty for the Constitutional amendment, as the basis of restoration, appears to be received with little favor at the South. The amendment is denounced as derogatory to the honor of the Southern people, and the application of an intelligence test alike to to white and black is scouted as a device for disfranchising the poor whites. Qualified negro suffrage and universal white suffrage would suit tolerably well, because the number of enfranchised freedmen would be very small. But the impartial doctrine is repudiated as vehemently as would be universal suffrage for black and white alike. The Mobile Advertiser states the Southern case upon this subject with refreshing candor in an article from which we quote the following:-

"The trouble is that in the Southern States where white suffrage is universal, we cannot have impersial negro suffrage, as it is had in Massachusetts. And the reason is that in the latter State, white suffrage is qualified, and the same qualification is extended to both races. If the radicals would compromise with us on this question, and allow the blacks of the South the same qualified suffrage as a sallowed them in Massachusetts, it would be a concession on our part of little or no practical moment, for the reason that out of a black population of three millions, there would be found only a few hundred that could become qualified voters, and there is no doubt those votes would be governed at the South and not at the North. But, unhappily, this is not 'impartial suffrage,' fer it discriminates between white and clack suffrage, and the probability is that the Rads would not treat for a compromise on that basis. On the other hand, the probability is that the Rads would not treat for a compromise on that basis. On the other hand, when a people, like those of the South, are in possession of universal voting power, where is the politician or the Legislature cold enough to propose to take any of it from them? So that even if the South would consent to yield its traditional prejudices so far as to accede to a qualified black suffrage, for the sake of dispelling the gloom of the political present which hangs like a pall upon her energies, social and commercial, and of being restored to her ancient rights in the Federal Union, the difficulty we have presented would seem to be insurmeuntable."

The same view is taken by the other Southern journals that have condescended to discuss the suffrage question. They are not averse to an enfranchisement of freedmen-that would practically amount to nothing; but they are de-cidedly averse to a qualification rigidly applied to both races. And as it is certain that the North will listen to no terms of compromise that imply any distinction as between while and black in respect of citizenship, it would seem to be idle to dwell upon the impartial-

suffrage proposition as a condition of restoration.

There are, of course, other qualifications than that of intelligence. For many reasons, that test is open to serious practical objections. It is no guarantee of moral fitness, in the first place, and in the next its application would be capricious and uneven. A property test, as now acted upon with reference to colored citizens in this State, is preferable, because indicating a certain degree of thrift, and being, moreover, susceptible of direct proof. Or the navment of a specified tax, or a specified amount payment of a specified tax, or a specified amount of taxation, might be still better, because more likely to secure the admission of a larger class, while excluding the idlers and wanderers. But either of these methods would be as objectionable to the South as the intelligence test which the Mobile Advertiser had more especially in view. For the same obnoxious principle of impartiality—of equality of right, irrespective of color—underlies the whole. The South has learned something agreement that the second of the same objective of color—underlies the whole. South has learned something, perhaps, but it has not yet learned that the foundation of its political structure must hereafter be instice.

To universal suffrage, probably, the North would be as strenuously opposed as the South.

The danger of investing with political power the whole head of the south of the strength of the strength

the whole body of freedmen, tresh from the semi-barbarous ignorance and degradation of own experience of universal suffrage has not inspired confidence in its sagacity or safety; and beyond a handful of extremists, there are few who would entrust the ballot to the great mass of colored citizens in the Southern States. Let them be dealt with fairly; subject them to no disqualification from which white citizens are exempt; but at least let some check be imposed that shall guard the franchise from the abuses

incident to the universal principle. Nor should we forget that the very men who have advocated universal negro suffrage as a condition precedent of restoration, are no longer content with the demand. Wendell Phillips is, perhaps, the man best entitled to speak in behalf of this section of extremists, and he declares plainly that a great deal more than negro suffrage must be had, though how must more, or exactly what, is not apparent. In an address at Philadelphia on Thursday last he is reported to have said that "the object of anti-slavery is the advancement of the colored man," and that the Southern States shall be held "until it is brought about." This is vague enough, but what it means more than universal suffrage is evident from the context. "Grant the negro his absolute rights"—Mr. Phillips went on to say—
"which means his advancement to the same footing as the white Rebels." The "same footing" in what regard? Is there to be the "same footing" touching property, to be reached through the confiscation process, or what? That the in-cendiary who prefers this new and undefined demand contemplates exactions of an indefinite nature, cannot be doubted. For the Philadelphia Press makes him to have asserted that under the harrow"—whatever that may signify.
"We may be obliged to continue it for thirty
years," he adds, "or perhaps not more than
three." It is difficult sometimes to avoid the conclusion that the man who utters language so outrageously nonsensical, has sacrificed his reason to his fanaticism. Even Phillips, however, has his uses. And his violence and savagery will not be entirely destitute of utility, if they remind the North of the worthlessness of universal negro suffrage as a means of satisfying the anarchists. Their great desire is to prevent the restoration of the Union. They clamored for negro suffrage as a means to that end, and as soon as impartial suffrage is talked about as something that might be rendered prac-

completing "the torture under the harrow. Reviewing the aspect of the suffrage question as a whole, then, we are forced to the conclusion that it is unavailable as a basis of restoration. As a contrivance for satisfying the extremists, it has ceased to be available. Their appetite for vengeance will be satisfied with nothing short of "torture" for three or thirty years. As a form of compromise, it is manifestly as distanteful to the South as the plan prepried to tasteful to the South as the plan presented by Congress and approved by the governing States.

And since the South rejects all overtures, in turn, and resents as an offense all proposals looking to the exaction of conditions, there is no motive to an abandonment, postpouement, or modification of the appropriate as a sangioused. or modification of the amondment as sanctioned

tical, they invent other requirements by way of

or modification of the amondment as sanctioned by the Republican party.

Besides, the amendment more fully satisfies the moderate demands of the North than any nother measure that has yet been suggested. It provides the guarantees which the toyal people of the land consider essential to the perpetuity of results achieved by the war. It establishes the liberty and equality of the freedmen before the law; it affirms the inviolability of the loyal debt, contracted in the prosecution of the war; it renders impossible the recognition of the Rebel debt, under any luture combinations in the altered condition of things; and it satisfies the public sense of right by imposing a very mild form of disability upon the Rebel leaders. It accomplishes much that neither impartal accomplishes much that neither im

regulate their franchise, which either of the other plans would inevitably destroy. We prefer adherence to the amendment, therefore, as well because it interferes less with the theory and working of our constitutional system than other plans that have been propounded, as because, it more thoroughly satisfies the will of the loyal majority of the nation concerning the guarantees

rendered necessary by the Rebellion.

The rejection of the amendment by the South does not affect the merits of the question. If the South voluntarily tendered other terms of compromise, it might be well to consider some

compromise. It might be well to consider some feasible method of adjustment. Inasmuch, however, as the South opposes everything in the shape of conditions, our duty is to adhere firmly to those which best commend themselves to our judgment, and which have been most thoroughly considered and sinctioned by the people of the governing States.

What course may be most advantageously taken, is the point which Congress will be called upon to determine. We have no expectation that it will recede from its position, be the consequences to the South what they may. As the question now stands, the Southern States will have themselves, and themselves alone, to blame for exclusion from Congress; and if the exclusion extends until after the next Presiexclusion extends until after the next Presidential election, the North will be absolved from responsibility for their disfranchisement. On all sides, it were better to avoid indefinite delay, if possible. The mere keeping open the ques tion of restoration is pregnant with evil, not to say danger. And in the contumacy of the South we can see the groundwork of a strong argu-ment for limiting the ralification of the amend-ment to the States which carried on the war for the Union, and now compose the Government of the Union. It is a proceeding that we would gladly turn from. But the argument in its favor may become more irresistible. The popular judgment may see no flagrant impropriety in contining to the loyal States the right to fix the conditions of restoration; and the commonsense reasoning of a patriotic people may, in a great emergency, be a safer guide for Congress than the hair-splitting logic of constitutions

#### Issues-Old and New.

From the Tribune. Our State elections for 1866 are over, and their results ascertained. Every one of the States which was not in 1860 a slave State has endorsed, by a popular vote, the Constitutional amendment framed by the Joint Committee on Reconconstruction, and passed by Congress at its last session. Tennessee, by its Legislature, has done likewise. Every other Southern State, it is now morally certain, will reject the amendment, The Legislatures of part of the former free States have already formally ratified the amendment; all the others are morally certain to do so upon their assembling respectively.

The new Legislature of New York will assemble at Albany on Tuesday, January 1st, and will, we presume, ratify the amendment by an overwhelming vote before the close of that week. When each State shall have conclusively acted, the vote will probably stand:—

FOR THE AMENDMENT: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Penrsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Hitnois, Wisconstu, Jowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Nevada, California, Oregon, with (if admitted) Nebraska and Coloredo—Iotal, 25.

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT:
Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina,
South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alagama, Missisdippl, Kentucky, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas—
Totai, 12.

—The assent of three-fourths of the States being requisite to ratify a Constitutional Amendment, it is plain that a ratification is not probable. Even it three of the hostile States could be induced to change, they would not What then?

The following are extracts from telegraphic despatches that reached us in the course of last

ST. Louis, November 23.—The Avening News of to-day says Governor Fletcher, the Hon. B. Gratz Brown, the Hon. Henry T. Blow, and other prominent radicals, have inaugurated a movement in this city, having for its object the rejection by the Legislature of the Congressional Constitutional amendments, and an amendment of the State Constitution so as to shreate distranchisement. stitution, so as to abrogate disfranchisement to Rebels, and substitute therefor negro suffrage.

Washington, November 25.—The Conservative Army and Navy Union, at their meeting last night, after a warm discussion, passed by a two-thirds vote a series of resolutions declaring that the proposed Constitutional amendment ought to be rejected: and that, in the judgment of that organization it is clearly the duty of the conservative press throughout the country to appeal to the Northern and southern States to extend suffrage to the negro on such qualified basis as may be deemed proper

-The significance of this latter despatch inheres in the strong probability that President Johnson will be found in sympathy with "The Conservative Army and Navy Union."

The following extract from Wendell Phillips' speech on Friday evening, at Philadelphia is worth considering in connection with the

above:—

"The people cannot be kept at a white heat. Northern trade longs for the Southern market, (Hear) All the machinery of politics and finance will be brought to bear upon the commercial classes North to be contented with any sort of reconstruction that will give them the South as quiet customers. The efforts of this kind in the coming six months will be unmeasured and incessant. Add to these the Democratic party of the North, and the clamor of the Southern States, with the patronage of the Government at their bead, and who says it is not a fearful strength, an incalculable danger? The real interest of Northern commerce and business is a interest of Northern commerce and business is a reconstruction that will give us 5,000,000 of thrifty, industrious, and contented negroes for customers, and 5,000,000 of white men turning their attention honestly to industrial pursuits. The South, under a reconstruction on a Northern model, would be a customer to the extent of \$100,000,000 or \$200,000,000 more than she over has been or can be on the Presi-dent's plan."

These various demonstrations seem to indicate an approximation from opposite points towards a settlement of our remaining differences on a basis somewhat diverse from the platform either party, and probably better than that of either. At all events, let us now have a settle-ment that shall be all-embracing and final.

### Our "Critical Relations" with England - The "Alabama" Claims and the Mexican Imbroglio.

From the Heraid. The English Government seems disposed to feel its way cautiously in regard to the United States. For some time past the tone of the press of Great Britain, and of the leading British statesmen, has been remarkably cordial; but now the wind has shifted, and there appears to be a disposition to sail upon the opposite tack, Simultaneously we learn from the London Post that "the relations between England and the United States will soon be critical;" from Earl Derby that "a spirit of mutual forbearance and kind conciliation" is needed to smooth away the difficulties concerning the Alabama claims: from Canada that "the possibility of trouble with the United States renders increased vigilance necessary on the part of the Canadian authorities;"from washington that the attention of our Government has been called to the ominous concentration of British troops upon our Canadian frontier; from France that the engagements in regard to the withdrawal of the French troops from Mexico this month will not be observed, and from the organ of Secretary Seward that the United States will not assume the Mexican debt to France. These reports and rumors, coming all together, certainly make out a case worthy of serious consideration. When a ctoud appears in a clear sky, and the barometer begins appears in a clear sky, and the barometer begins to fall, a careful captain commences his preparations for a storm; and it behooves us to glanco critically over the machinery, huit, and rigging of the ship of state, and see what the prospects are of safety or disaster.

In the first place, no matter how "critical"

our relations may become with England, there is no chance for the Emperor Napoleon to rene w his schemes in regard to Mexico. General Dix his schemes in regard to Mexico. General Dix will make this clear to the Emperor at his first interview. If the worst comes, and we are obliged to go into a war with Great Britain, we can easily spare twenty-live thousand soldiers to settle the Mexican imbroglio. Indeed, Sheridan already has troops enough upon the Rio Grande to deal with that matter, and Sherman, who is a host in himself, is by this time on the field of action. The United States have treated Napoleon most generously. Taking an unfair advantage of the internal troubles of a triendly power, he attempted to violate the Mouroe doctrine and establish a foreign empire upon our borders. Had we turned upon him the moment our Rebellion was suppressed, and driven the French from Mexico by such thunderbolts as Grant, Sherman, Thomas, and Sheriderbolts as Grant, Sherman, Thomas, and Sheridan, he would have had no right to complain. Maximilian's monarchy was a part of the Rebellion, and fell with it. Jeff. Davis and the Austrian adventurer were in the same boat, and were trian adventurer were in the same boat, and were wrecked in company. Had we pressed the point, the surrender of General Lee would have been followed by that of Marshal Bazaine. Instead of proceeding to this extremity, our Government acted most magnanimously. Our armies, flushed with victory and ready for another campaign, were quietly disbanded. The friendship of France during our revolutionary struggle was remembered as an offset to her cumity during the Southern Rebellion. Our moral power alone the Southern Rebellion. Our moral power alone was brought to bear upon Napoleon, and he was permitted to retire gracefully from his untenable position. Now that Maximilian's empire is in ruins, it is too late for the French Emperor to break all his promises and undertake to reconstruct his exploded projects. If he fails to appreciate generosity, we will convince him by the logic of the bayonet. His troops must leave Mexica volumerity or a project projects. the logic of the bayonet. His troops must leave Mexico voluntarily or remain prisoners of war. We are ready for all eventualities, even includ-ing a war with England. The Spencer rifle is as able a diplomatist as the Prussian needle-gan. Russia and the United States may serve France as Prussia and Italy have served Austria. It is the fixed resolve of the American people that the French and Maximilian must retire from Mexico and the republic be re-established. We want this done peaceably, it possible, but forcibly, if necessary. Napoleon may take his

In regard to England, but one course remains for the United States Government, and that is to insist upon the immediate settlement of the Alabama claims, without the delay of a commission or the reduction of a single dollar, The talk of Earl Derby about "mutual" forbearance and conciliation is all nonsense. Hitherto we have been too for bearing and too conciliatory, while England has been aggressive and piactically hostile. The time has now arrived for strict and impurial justice. During the Rebellion we fought against British privateers, British seamen, British arms, ammunition, and provisions, and British advice and sympathy, and we conquered in spite of these. To the victors belong the spolls, British neutrality was a farce, and any display of British braggadocia will be a failure, so far we are concerned. Between the United States and Great Britain all the advantages of a war are in favor of the former power. We have everything to gain and England has everything to lose. The war would be a maritime one, and the English scaports are at the mercy of our iron-clads. The Femans and reformers only need the countenance of our Government to only need the countenance of our Government to succeed in Ireland and to start a formidable revolution in the heart of England. A war with the United States would be most unpopular in Great Britain; a war with England would be most popular in the United States. We have but comparatively little shipping left to suffer, thanks to the British privateers, while we could reimburse ourselves for the entire expenses of the contest by setzing British property, on the land or on the sea, wherever we can find it. In a week twenty thousand can find it. In a week twenty thousand United States veterans, assisted by the Fenian volunteers, could capture Canada. To storm the ancient fortifications of Quebec would be child's play to the men who took Vicksburg, Yorktown, Petersburg, Fredericksburg, and the heights above the clouds on Lookout Mountain. We may need a foreign war to end the restora-tion muddle, and weld the North and South together in an indissoluble Union. The Mexican campaign, in which the soldiers of Massachu-setts and South Carolina fought shoulder to shoulder, disjunted the in-feeting that remained after the nullification squabble, and a conflict with England would now clear the air of the mists and vapors arising from the prejudices. passions, and disappointments of the secession conspiracy. We have great and popular generals, superior to Wellington, out of employment and anxious for work, while England is in her military dotage, with an army of discontented Fenians, commanded by aristocratic numskulls who have purchased their promotion by hard cash instead of hard fighting. In a word, if a warlike crisis really exists, it is "critical" for England and France alone. We shall be satisfied with peace, the payment of the Alabama claims, and the withdrawal of the French from Mexico; but we are ready for war, the downtall of the British empire, and the ultimate ruin of Napoleon. The sight of dethroned monarchs, carrying their crowns in their carpet bags, is not unfamiliar in Europe just at present, and it only requires a war with the United States to add Victoria and Napoleon to the number of royal vagrants.

#### Impeachment of the President. From the World.

General Butler's ferocious and indecent tirade against the President, in Brooklyn, Saturday evening, no doubt expresses the wishes of the extreme radicals, but we are persuaded that such violent counsels will not prevail. If Congress should undertake to impeach the President, they would spread such a feeling of alarm and panic, that the Republican party could not surbive it. Butler's Brooklyn speech exhibits the spirit that would reign on the radical side in prosecuting the impeachment, and all the world knows that unresisting meekness forms no part of the character of President Johnson. An impeachment would be like the striking of flint and steel in a heap of gunpowder. Public feeling is in such an inflammable state, that a collision between Congress and the President. with a view to unseat him, would have an exwith a view to unseat him, would have an explosive effect on the country. The South, feeling that he was to be put out to spite and punish them, would be ready for any measure of resistance; and the extravagance of the proceeding would be so glaring that the North would be divided. The first effect would be would be divided. The birst effect would be a commercial panic; the second, the total prostration of the public credit. Gold would suddenly go up to a higher figure than at any time during the late war; industry would be suspended; trade come to a stand; business than the property and a tide of devolution will prove suspended; trade come to a stand; business firms break; and a tide of desolation roll over the land. All men of reflection must agree that this would be the inevitable effect of an impeachment. We believe that the ownership of the Government securities is too widely different for this to have safe game for the Board. fused for this to be a safe game for the Republican politicians to pay. If, in this era of nigh prices, the laboring classes should be suddenly flung out of employment in the dead of winter, by such a reckless proceeding, the Republican party would be shattered to pieces by the recoil

of its own violence. Infuriated zealots like Wendell Phillips may not see this, or may be willing to dare it; but it is selfshness rather than frenzy that inspires the greater part of the Republican politicians. While they are willing to foster the hostility of the multitude, they will be wary of so far overshooting the mark. Butler is an unscrupulous incendiary, hating the South, hating the Piesident, hating General Grant, challing under general disgrace, and yet ambitious of being the radical candidate for the Persident. But over Best, for the Presidency. But even Butler, knave as he is, is no fool; he neither expects nor wishes to see his advice followed. He would of course be glad to see Mr. Johnson put out of office; but he has too keen a perception of the consequences to desire such a reaction as would follow. He advocates impeachment as a bully indulges in bluster, thinking it a safe way to strengthen his credit with the radicals, and overbid Chief Justice of the contraction of the consequences to desire such as the contraction of the consequences to desire such a reaction of the contraction of the con tice Chase for their nomination

The threat makes a sensation, and Butler's vanity thirsts for the notoriety which attends a sensation. He thought the sensation made by his famous woman order a feather in his cap, He now craves to be talked about as a man bold enough to beard the President. Vaporing malignity and a morbid desire to be talked about, inspire the distribes of this blustering bully. The radicals like to hear such talk, but they would sbrink from seeing the thrent put in execution, as a boastful coward would from battle. Butler is sate enough in making such threats, for he is not a member of this Congress. If he were, he would be obliged to follow up his harangues by moving an impeachment in his place in the House. No actual member makes such harangues, since it would bind him to a course of action which might not prove in all

respects pleasant.
If Butler instead of Grant were at the head of the army, perhaps Congress might be em-boldened by their great opinion of his military prowess. That he does not hold that honorable position is not his own fault; at least, it is not owing to any lack of impudence, for he tried hard for it. At a time when the offices of Lieu-tenant-General and General had not yet been created, and the senior Major-General com-manded the army, it will be recollected that Butler pretedned that his commission antedated those of Generals McClellan and Fremont, and claimed, on that ground, to outrank them—a modest claim which was disallowed by President Lincoln. But being neither the head of the army nor a member of Congress, he can indulge in any amount of bravado without any danger of being put to the proof.

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